SPAIN

DEFENDS

DEMOCRACY

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THE TRUTH ABOUT THE FASCIST PLOT

By HARRY GANNES

I.

WHEN the truth is known to the American people they will understand the heinousness of the fascist assault on the Republic in Spain. They will grasp the terrible significance of the gangster assistance of Labor's Enemy No. 1, William Randolph Hearst and his ilk, to those in Spain who would rather butcher the very type of liberties which the American people won by the revolution of 1776.

We will cut through the camouflage by which the Hearst press and the fascists everywhere seek to surround the real issues in Spain today.

1—The overwhelming majority of the Spanish people in February, 1936, voiced their support for the Republic against the agents of fascism. Spain's masses expressed their adherence to the People's Front program. They demanded an end to fascist plotting. They insisted on liberation of the victims of fascist oppression, and the creation of a material base for the Republic and democracy in Spain.

2—The fascists had not the slightest regard for the will of the people. Immediately after the election they began their plotting. Details were worked out for a military coup d'etat against the People's Front. They conspired against the Azana government, against the Communists, Socialists and Anarcho-Syndicalists, against the progressives.

3—The Communist and Socialist Parties clearly proclaimed their adherence to the People's Front. They pledged support of the Azana government against the plots of fascism. We shall show that the fascists knew their charges that the immediate aim of the Communist and Socialist Parties was to set up a dictatorship of the proletariat were false. Statements by

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both proletarian parties right after the February election, as well as during the very criminal assault by the fascists on the Republic, prove beyond any doubt they were loyal to the People's Front. The Socialists and Communists led in the preservation of the Republic, democracy, order and the carrying through of the will of the people to oust their enemies from their fortresses of economic and political privilege.

4—The fascists, and their allies, from the February elections until the day of the outbreak of the military coup, plotted night and day to thwart the wish of the people. The reactionaries of every stripe conspired ceaselessly to impose over and against the people a dictatorial government of the most oppressive exploiting groups of Spain.

Fascists Use Terror

5—The fascists in Spain used terror, violence and murder against the lawfully established Azana government of Spain. Thereby they hoped to create a condition of anarchy and disorder which would favor their seizure of power. We shall give full particulars of these plots.

6—We shall give a detailed list of the groups, organizations and individuals involved in the fascist schemings. The monarchists, feudal landlords, foreign concessionaires, aristocratic parasites representing the degenerate classes that had ruled Spain since the Middle Ages united with the fascists. Their aim was to stamp out and destroy the Republic supported by the Socialists, Communists, Anarcho-Syndicalists, the peasantry and the middle classes. To preserve the age-old prerogatives of the feudal aristocracy, they joined with the fascists against the expressed and irrefutable will of the people.

7—Unable to hope for victory alone, the Spanish fascists long ago began plotting with Hitler and Mussolini.

8—We shall name the generals involved and tell how they visited Hitler and Mussolini. We have sufficient proof to show that the plans were all prearranged with the two fascist dictators. Hitler and Mussolini were concerned not only with the establishment of fascist rule in Spain against the will of the

Spanish people, but in the heat of civil war they plotted to gain a colonial foothold in Morocco, the Balearic Islands and the Canary Islands.

Warship Visits Planned

9—The visit of the Italian and German warships to the scene of the Spanish civil war, we shall prove, was planned together with the fascists in Burgos and Seville when their coup showed signs of going awry and their chances of winning against the People's Front were waning.

10—The assistance of the Spanish fascists by pro-fascist forces in the United States and Britain will also be uncovered by the most competent witnesses for the fascists.

11—Before the fascists began their criminal military coup, which plunged all Spain into bloodshed, they had plotted economic sabotage, lockouts, hunger, assaults on Communist and Socialist leaders. At the time they were resorting to individual terror against the workers' leaders, they were also provoking splits in the workers' ranks between Right and Left Socialists; between Socialists and Communists, and especially between the Anarcho-Syndicalist movement and the unifying Socialist and Communist movement.

12—We shall reveal facts about the strenuous efforts of the fascists to split the Azana Republican forces from the People's Front, as a preliminary step to civil war. When this failed, they decided to strike, hoping in the actual warfare they could rupture the unity of all parties standing for the Republic and democracy. We shall show why and how this failed, primarily through the correct tactics of the Socialist and Communist Parties in the People's Front.

In the raft of horror stories against the anti-fascists of Spain, effort is being made by reactionaries in this country to blur the most startling fact of the Spanish civil war.

The fascist criminals began their military assault on the peace of the people in an effort to force on them a government which they had overwhelmingly voted down in the elections of February 16, 1936.

Vote Is a Blow to Fascists

We will admit that the results of the February elections were a stunning blow to the fascists. They did not expect such a crushing defeat at the ballot box from an aroused people. The people of Spain, the followers of the Socialists, Communists, the Republican Parties of the middle class, the Anarcho-Syndicalists, the peasantry—all forgot their differences to unite on one aim: *Against fascism!*

Nevertheless the situation in Spain in February, 1936, would be comparable to one in the United States, let us say, if an anti-fascist grouping (a real People's Front) had voted against the fascists in this country. And after the people had expressed their solemn will by an overwhelming majority, the agents of the trusts, of the Hearsts, of the big landowners, of all the forces of reaction were to instigate the army officers to an armed insurrection to shoot down the leaders chosen by the American people; to put in their places fascists supported by Italy and Germany; to give the most strategic territories of the country to foreign fascist powers; to deprive the people of the liberties they had won; to drown democracy in a sea of blood, and on the death and ruins of the Republic just voted by the people five months ago, to erect today the horrible structure of the Inquisition of the middle ages graced by the most modern fascist means of rule and plunder.

That precisely is the situation in Spain. When the election results were finally counted, this was the picture in that land now running red with blood because the fascists would not accept the facts we now give in cold figures:

Strength of Parties in Cortes

	Elections 1933	Elections 1936	Gain or Loss
Parties of the People's Front	—	—	—
Left Republicans (Azana, representing the middle class, etc.)	7	81	+74
Socialists	58	98	+40
Communists	1	16	+15
Other Left groups	55	73	+18
Total	121	268	+147

Thus an overwhelming majority of the people voted for the People's Front of Spain. The masses of Spain had spoken. They had excoriated the butchers of the Asturias uprising of October, 1934. They had demanded the liberation of the 30,000 prisoners held in the dungeons of the fascist regime of Lerroux-Robles.

Yet even this tremendous sweep of the People's Front elections could not fully attest to the momentousness of the anti-fascist temper of the masses.

Many Anarcho-Syndicalists, definitely against fascism, did not vote, under Anarchist influence.

Many peasants were disfranchized. The fascists, in control of most of the voting apparatus, resorted to swindling and trickery.

The People Voiced Their Choice

Still these figures left no doubt in the mind of anybody in Spain and among world public opinion. The people of Spain had voiced their choice. They were united for the Republic, for democracy, and against fascism. No amount of fascist bloodshedding can wipe out this fact.

The fascist forces, on the other hand, were split. The Right and Center were not united, though they were in an absolute minority. They lost 147 deputies. From a majority of 352 members in the Cortes, after the February elections the fascists and Center Parties could count only 205. Of these 205, many were not with the fascists in their plot to murder the expressed will of the people by the bloodiest uprising Spain had ever seen.

After the first shock, when Manuel Azana heading a government supported by the People's Front, and under the great pressure of the masses released the 30,000 anti-fascist prisoners, the fascists began their systematic criminal plotting, which in five months led to the bestial assault on the Republic and the endangering of world peace.

II.

A SERIES of accidental smash-ups in the plans of the fascists revealed phases of the plot that greatly embarrassed Hitler and Mussolini and brought startling details into the light of day.

Speedy resistance by a united People's Front upset the fascist hopes for an early attainment of their goal and revealed more links with Hitler and Mussolini.

A fateful airplane crash killing the Spanish general chosen as commander-in-chief of the insurrectionary armies was the main blow to the fascist plot. Its consequence helped reveal still more phases of the conspiracy.

The premature outbreak of the uprising, putting the fascists in a desperate plight, led to further disclosures. The crash of Italian military planes in French Moroccan territory gave added tangible proof of Mussolini's participation and the reasons for it.

Intervention Was Plotted

While the fascist generals in Spain, with the assistance of the CEDA (reactionary political grouping) leaders, Gil Robles and Calvo Sotelo, prepared the ground for the present uprisings, other generals and diplomats were busy arranging for the interventionist phase of the coup.

The Spanish fascists feared that if the contest were left to a decision of the people of Spain alone they would be doomed. They therefore, from the very beginning, got substantial promise of assistance from Hitler and Mussolini.

It is already well known that the chief financier of the fascist plot was the Spanish tobacco magnate, Juan March, reputed to be worth $100,000,000. March, very soon after Prime Minister Azana established the government supported by the People's Front, after consultation with Gil Robles, chose General Jose Sanjurjo to visit Germany and consult with Hitler. Sanjurjo, the Nazi press admits, was received enthusiastically by the Hitlerites.

The German fascists were fully apprised of the plot against the Spanish People's Front. Arms were shipped to the North of Spain. Fascist-placed customs officers let them through. They were cached in Burgos and Pamplona. None of these facts is now denied. General Mola admitted to H. R. Knickerbocker, Hearst correspondent with the Spanish fascist forces, and to John Elliott, *Herald Tribune* correspondent, that the greater part of the rifles and machine guns used were of German manufacture.

Working with General Sanjurjo in Berlin were the Spanish ambassador Francisco Agramonte y Cortijo, an aristocrat, and Lieutenant Col. Manuel Martinez, military attache. On July 30, 1936, thirteen days after the uprising, and when Hitler's war vessels were already participating on the side of Gen. Franco, both of these Spanish "diplomats" in Nazi Germany quit their posts. They frankly admitted at that late date that they "made no secret of the fact" that they sided with the fascists. (*N. Y. Times*, Aug. 1, 1936.) We do not have to strain the point that their sympathies with the butchers of the Spanish people originated on the day of the uprising. They had introduced Gen. Sanjurjo to Air Minister Goering, to Alfred Rosenberg, Nazi specialist in foreign plots, and to Hitler himself.

A few weeks before the zero hour in Spain, Gen. Sanjurjo landed in Portugal. There he received the assistance of the Portuguese fascist dictator, Oliviero Salazar. On the day Gen. Franco gave the signal for the assault in Ceuta and Melilla, Spanish Morocco, Gen. Sanjurjo took off in a plane for Burgos, Navarre province, Spain. For some mysterious reason his machine crashed. At the very outset, that was one of the severest blows to the fascists. For Gen. Sanjurjo was the chief link to Rome and Berlin. Besides, Sanjurjo was acknowledged to be the unifying force, the most capable field marshal of the highly sectionalized fascist armies. His death completely disjointed the co-ordinated plan of attack with outside intervention. Efforts to remedy this disaster for the

fascists helped to reveal further details of the criminal plot against the people of Spain.

While Sanjurjo was plotting with Hitler in Berlin, the Spanish ambassador to Rome was charged by Gen. Franco Calvo Sotelo, Gil Robles and Juan March to sound out Mussolini. Of this angle of the plot, least is known at the present moment.

However, again an air incident now helps us to piece together the bloodstained threads of this phase of the conspiracy.

On Aug. 6, Gen. Victor Denain, high commissioner of French Morocco, presented the Blum government with the following facts:

Two of the eighteen planes destined from Italy to Gen. Franco in Spanish Morocco crashed. Documents found on the surviving fliers showed the planes belonged to the Italian air forces of the 55th, 57th and 58th squadron. The insignia had been hastily doubed over. One of the officers still carried his fascist army pay book. The planes were gotten ready on orders of the Rome Air Ministry on July 20 (only three days after Gen. Franco began the uprising in Morocco). The haste in fitting the planes for this desperate flight to assist Franco was due to the fact that the crash which killed Gen. Sanjurjo left the Spanish fascists without a unifying leader; and, what is most important, without the plans of foreign assistance. Mussolini, therefore, realized the necessity of carrying out his part of the bargain in the risky manner of rushing bombing planes from the Italian air force to Gen. Franco.

Documentary evidence published by the People's Front in Barcelona further tends to implicate the Italian and German fascists. On Aug. 5, *La Publicidad* of Barcelona declared: "Records seized in both places show the German consulate aided Germans there, and that they received propaganda for Nazi ideas to be put into effect in various parts of Spain."

The fascists left no stone unturned to insure foreign assistance, not only in Italy and Germany, but even in France.

Strange that de Jourenen, a French fascist leader, found

himself in Pamplona, one of the headquarters of Gen. Mola's forces in the North of Spain, just as Gen. Franco began his bloody attack in Morocco. De Jourenen is still in Pamplona maintaining contact with de la Rocque's fascist bands in Paris and in the South of France.

Gen. Franco's explanation for Mussolini's and Hitler's aid to the Spanish butchers ("we have saved Western Europe from the menace of Communism, and we look to America and Africa to associate their authority to subjugate the forces of Communism") is just the usual fascist propaganda. Actually, more substantial reasons existed.

Mussolini in his conflict with British imperialism saw a splended opportunity to get a base opposite Gibraltar. This is in accord with the Italian fascist scheme of making the Mediterranean "Mare Nostrum" (our sea). Furthermore, air bases and harbors in the Balearic Islands, ceded by a victorious fascist power in Spain, whose right to parcel out its territories could not then be diplomatically questioned, was worth the most desperate gamble for Mussolini.

Hitler's share, it turned out later, according to the well-informed French commentator on foreign affairs, Genevieve Tabois, was to be a portion of the Canary Islands, athwart the North African Atlantic Coast.

Now that fits like a glove on Hitler's plans for regaining Germany's African colonies and bidding, along with Italy, for a distribution of the colonial empire of France and probably Britain.

A "Private" Matter

So anxious was Mussolini to insist that his shipment of planes to Gen. Franco was a "private" matter and that fascist Italy had received no promises of colonial reward, that he instructed his chief editorial mouthpiece, Virginio Gayda, officially to rush in and deny the charge. Protesting entirely too much, Gayda, writing in *Il Giornale d'Italia*, fumed:

> "Italy never received such an offer [of Ceuta, Morocco] which Gen. Franco, who is justly proud of the integrity of Spanish-owned territory, never made."

Which should of course be proof in any court in the world that Mussolini absolutely did not have any promise from the Spanish fascists of territorial reward.

If Rome is worth a mass, a fascist Spain to Generals Franco and Mola is worth at least the loss of Ceuta, the Balearic and Canary Islands. Cheap, indeed, at half the price.

Now let us see how the plot of foreign fascist assistance unwound itself after the fatal crash of Gen. Sanjurjo.

To the consternation of Gen. Franco, the navy and air forces remained loyal to the People's Front. The fascist uprisings in the Barcelona and Madrid barracks were smashed. Generals Fanjul and Goded, leading the plot in Madrid, were captured. The People's Front held, united. Workers and peasants were armed. The masses stormed to the defense of their democratic liberties. Locked in Seville, mustachioed General Quiepo de Llano desperately blurted out an open appeal for the foreign fascist assistance promised to the Spanish fascists.

For all the world to hear, Llano, on July 27, over the Seville radio, pleaded with the admirals on the Italian and German warships swarming in the Straits of Gibraltar to rush the help they had promised. Not even Hearst has denied that fact.

Then what happened?

The bargain made with Gen. Sanjurjo was carried out. The German "pocket" battleship Deutschland steamed to Ceuta, interrupting a bombardment by loyal Spanish war vessels of the fascist-held fortress.

According to the fascist Hearst press, the Deutschland landed military advisors and aviators. We do not think it is speculating too much to think that the Deutschland admiral who landed at Ceuta and visited Gen. Franco gave him the prearranged plans which were lost when Gen. Sanjurjo's body was burned to cinders along with his documents on the fateful flight from Lisbon to Burgos.

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Soon after Llano's appeal, also, the Italian planes, all set since July 20, took a desperate chance in an oncoming storm, to reach Spanish Morocco.

Another German cruiser, on Aug. 5, steamed into Cadiz, put off a landing party of Nazi officers and soldiers, who paraded the streets, gave the Nazi salute and cried: "Heil Hitler!" During this demonstration, the ship's commander was closeted with the Spanish fascist officers holding Cadiz.

We come now to some corroborating evidence from an American pro-fascist source. We would not put H. R. Knickerbocker on the witness stand to give historical testimony of what is happening in Spain. Yet in calling him we cannot be charged with summoning a witness biased in favor of the People's Front of Spain or the struggle to preserve democracy against fascism. Notoriously, Knickerbocker gives the official fascist position of Gen. Mola at his headquarters in Burgos.

We have no proof of our own of American capitalist participation on the side of Spanish fascism. But we do not think Hearst's foremost foreign publicist would malign, let us say, Standard Oil Co. or that important British capitalist, Gordon Selfridge.

On Aug. 4, Knickerbocker cabled:

> "The larger oil companies have considerable interest in the Spanish civil war." Then he added: "Among a party of visitors arriving in Burgos by air is the Count de Sibours, a representative of *Standard Oil interests.*"

Sibours also is connected with the Selfridge millions by marriage.

On Aug. 5 again Knickerbocker added a few details to our general outline of fascist assistance by cabling:

> "One of the first bits of good news for the rebels from the southern front came today with word that Gen. Franco, commander there, has received from abroad [that is, Italy and Germany] eighteen large commercial airplanes suitable for troop transport."

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On July 23, the Northern fascists had hopes even of diplomatic recognition from their fascist allies, Knickerbocker informing American readers on behalf of the fascist Gen. Mola that:

> "Enthusiastic aristocrats in Burgos even declared they have hopes that authoritative governments such as Italy and Germany might even recognize a Spanish military government before the taking of Madrid."

That convinces us that Hitler and Mussolini had promised recognition at least right *after* the fascist capture of Madrid. On July 25, incidentally, Hitler recognized Mussolini's conquest of Ethiopia. That also set a precedent for each other's recognition of the Spanish colonial gifts for helping Gen. Franco.

And who are these people that Hitler and Mussolini help? "Every second person one meets," condescendingly writes Knickerbocker, "is a marquess or a count. The nobility is happy for the first time since Alfonso fled the country."

Workers are being slaughtered; Mussolini and Hitler are coming to the rescue. Why shouldn't an aristocrat be happy?

Again on July 27, Knickerbocker sings the old refrain: "The rebels are confidently hopeful of sympathetic aid from Nazi Germany."

III.

THE very lords of the manor against whom all France rose in 1793, the Tories, landlords, monarchical oppressors against whom the American people shed blood in 1776 for law and order against tyranny, are the self-same scourges, buttressed by fascism, who have this time risen against the Spanish democratic republic.

In the news now burning up the cables, Hitler and Mussolini go heavy on the propaganda that the fight is one of fascism against Communism.

Never was there so dastardly a lie in order to befuddle honest, liberty-loving, democratic people in other countries, especially the United States, England and France. To avoid

sympathetic interference from the people who really will be affected by the loss of democracy in Spain, Hitler and Mussolini shout that they are battling Bolshevism, Communism, anarchy.

By that sign they hope to conquer against the People's Front of Spain, which is united in shedding their blood for the defense of the *democratic Republic* of Spain.

Not only now, in the heat of the world-shaking battle for Spanish liberty against those who would destroy the Republic, but at the very beginning, after the February people's victory, both the Communist and Socialist Parties made their stand clear.

The elections were a stunning blow to the fascists and all their aristocratic hangers-on. The people had spoken, and their voice was a loud, resounding shout for the Republic against fascism, and for the retention of unity of all people standing for democracy.

Fascists Begin Plots

To forestall false pretexts of the fascists who were legally and definitely rejected by the people of Spain, the Communists and Socialists made their post-election stand clear.

The fascists had hoped for an immediate split between the Left Republicans (headed by President Manuel Azana), and the proletarian parties, the Socialists, Communists and Anarcho-Syndicalists.

On the ground that the Socialists and Communists, aided by the Syndicalists (representing a minority of the people without the peasants and middle class) would attempt to institute the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the fascists began their sabotage, their terror, their insidious plotting in the army and with Hitler and Mussolini.

Communist Policy

To shatter their plans, the Communists and Socialists, immediately after the elections, made their position crystal clear, so that all the world could read and understand.

The General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, Jose Diaz, now one of the leaders in the workers' militia, defending the Spanish Republic against its fascist assassins, in February, 1936, right after the People's Front won the elections, emphasized the policy of the Communist Party of Spain:

> "The People's Front must not be disbanded," he warned; and how thoroughly the bloody days since July 17 have underlined the truth of his appeal. "On the contrary, it must be strengthened and given every possible activity. We believe it necessary to continue the action jointly—Communists, Socialists, Anarchists—firmly united in the Workers' and Peasants' Alliance, in conjunction with the Left Republican and democratic masses. This will be the best guarantee that the bourgeois-democratic revolution will be realized in its final implications."

The Tide Is Turned

Crystal clear, golden words, of our comrades in Spain, uttered on the very threshold of the plots of the fascist conspirators.

Any assistance to the fascists in their plans to split the People's Front would have brought down the avalanche of civil war earlier with every chance for victory on the side of the enemies of democracy and the Republic.

The clear-sighted policy of the Communists, supported by the vast majority of the Socialists, later adhered to in battle by the Anarcho-Syndicalists, turned the tide against the fascists.

Indeed, it is the victory of this policy, now leading to every prospect for the victory of the people of Spain against their own fascists, that is inspiring Hitler and Mussolini to the most dastardly lies in order to speed the fascist intervention on the side of their losing cohorts in Spain.

Socialists Back Unity

After the Communist Party of Spain spoke, *Claridad*, the organ of the Left Socialists, declared under the signature of Largo Caballero, now the foremost fighter at the head of the workers' militia:

> "We shall be on the side of the government, in order to help it to carry out the joint program with all the necessary determination, even if this program does not satisfy us entirely."

Realizing the main question confronting the Spanish people in their fight for liberation from feudal fetters and from the threat of fascist domination was *unity* on an immediate program, though that program was not socialism, the Socialists and Communists stood side by side in the People's Front. They firmly supported the Azana government, though they both realized the limitations and vacillations of that government.

Fascists Hoped for Split

Any other policy would have meant early suicide. Any other road would have been a smooth highway for fascism.

Yet against this solid front the fascists struck, because they realized its continuation would have made it harder if not impossible for them to strike at all. They struck when they saw signs of inner conflict among the proletariat, and quarrels with the Left Republicans. They hoped dearly that the Left Republicans would withdraw, leaving the heroic proletariat alone to be mowed down in battle. Failing in this objective, the fascists nevertheless took up the cry that they were saving "civilization from Bolshevism".

Think of it! The descendants of the Inquisition saving civilization! The aristocratic families and landlords of Spain who despoiled Mexico, slaughtering its native population, who were the ruthless pirates of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, who have lived on robbery and plunder, keeping Spain the poorest and one of the most backward nations in the world, coming to the rescue of "civilization"!

Imagine the people whom the French masses rid themselves of in 1793, and the Americans in 1776, demanding in the Spain of today that they should have the right by armed force to murder the people's rights and set over the corpses of the fighters for liberty their heinous temple of fascist degeneration.

To achieve this end, the fascists in every land now in chorus shriek they are fighting Bolshevism in Spain.

With gun in hand, fighting shoulder to shoulder with doctors, lawyers, small merchants, students, peasants, workers of every political and religious belief, the Communist Party of Spain calmly gives its answers to the baying fascist bloodhounds.

Reiterating in a more critical period today its words of February, 1936, which every honest person in Spain sees is sealed with the blood of Communists on the battlefield of democracy, *Mundo Obrero*, Communist official organ, on Aug. 4 wrote:

> "The entire world should know that the Spanish people are fighting under the direction of the government in defense of their republic and of democracy against counter-revolutionary anarchism and fascism.
>
> "It is not true that Communism has been established in Spain. It is also untrue that horrors are being committed in cities under government control. The republic respects private property of friends of the republic and individual rights of all republicans. Confiscation is carried out only against those who have unleashed this terrible slaughter. They are security measures against enemies of the people. . . .
>
> "We respect and guarantee the security of foreigners and foreign property."

Advance to Socialism

Hitler and Mussolini, in their war-mad and rotten hearts, know that every word of the above is true. They are not reeled off on the spur of the moment, to fit the grave danger of fascist intervention.

The defense of the democratic republic as the best means of advancing to Socialism and the end of all exploitation and oppression of the toilers of Spain was stressed and advocated by both the Socialist and Communist Parties of Spain before the fascists began their assault on democracy.

At this moment, the Socialists and Communists, aided by the Anarcho-Syndicalists, stand in the van of the toiling masses who form the backbone of the defenders of the Republic.

They are not doing what the fascists would wish them to do, seize all property, native and foreign, alienate the middle class

who are ready to die for the Republic, and confuse the peasantry who are the majority of the people in Spain.

Destruction of Fascism

The Communists and Socialists set themselves only one task now: *The destruction of fascism and the preservation of the democratic republic.*

The fascists, likewise, have only one goal, though composed of the most diverse elements of plunderers, landlords, exploiters, adventurers and a choice selection of cut-throats: *They are fighting for the destruction of democracy and the erection of a dictatorship whether under a hated monarchy or a despised fascist dictator.*

IV.

SOON after the establishment of the Azana government, the leading fascist deputies, Gil Robles and Calvo Sotelo, began their parliamentary offensive against the People's Front.

Ironical as it may sound now, they started off with a debate on "law and order," urging Azana to crush the People's Front, to abandon the Socialist and Communist Parties.

Meanwhile, on the streets, in the barracks, and in every phase of economic life, the cohorts of the fascists gangs were carrying on a veritable reign of terror and murder. Pistoleros, members of the Phalanx, reactionary officers resorted to bloodshed and violence against the adherents of the People's Front.

The secret aim of the tactics of the reactionaries lay in provoking street clashes while the Senors Robles and Sotelo spouted about "order" and the necessity of squelching the proletarian rabble. As a result of this preliminary bloodshed, they hoped to engender a split among the parties of the People's Front.

With the smashing of the People's Front, they looked for Azana and the Republicans to break with the Socialists and Communists, and to yield to the reactionaries. True, this

was the advice also given to the Socialists by the Trotzkyites and certain "Socialist" advisers in the United States. It was the main plank in the political line of the Spanish fascists in preparation for their gory attack. The firm stand of the Communist Party and the leaders of the Left wing of the Socialist Party brought this maneuver to naught.

Then the fascists resorted to violence and bloody plotting in real earnest, though Robles and Sotelo never for a moment gave up the incessant parliamentary pressure against the middle class parties behind Azana and Barrios.

Fascist Groupings

The most important of the fascist groups implicated in the plotting, each strong in the various provinces, each with its clique of officers in the army, and each following the common aim of provoking riots, intensifying strikes against the government, resorting to lockouts, and other forms of economic sabotage, and making their alliances with the foreign fascists, were the following:

CEDA: a bloc of the extreme Right parties of the big landlords, capitalists, and the church heads.

SPANISH PHALANX: the fascist grouping which on the surface aped most slavishly the tactics and formation of the Italian and German fascists. This organization is headed by the son of the former dictator, Primo de Rivera.

POPULAR ACCION: a Catholic fascist organization, led by Gil Robles and supported by the extremely wealthy Jesuit order and the millionaire tobacco magnate, Juan March.

OFFICERS' UNION: comprising the bloated and overstaffed officer corps, in allegiance with the various fascist and monarchist groups, and bitterly resisting reorganization of the army by the Azana government.

THE SPANISH REGENERATION: a fascist organization which wanted to "regenerate" Spain on the model of 1515.

CARLISTS: monarchist supporters of a Carlist restoration, strongest in the worst centers of fascist banditry today in Pamplona and Burgos.

MONARCHISTS: followers of ex-King Alfonso.

THE SPANISH FOREIGN LEGION: under the control of Gen. Francisco Franco, Hitler and Mussolini ally in Morocco. The Spanish Foreign Legion is the most roundly hated outfit in Spain, especially after its bestial slaughter of the Asturian miners in October, 1934. Composed of the worst criminals ever belched out of the prisons of the world, men who face death on the gallows outside the ranks of the Legion, the Spanish fascists rely now chiefly on them to win a "victory" for "civilization" in the south of Spain.

American and British Backing

Besides, supporting the fascists are the American Telephone and Telegraph Co., which in October, 1934, contributed to the fund of appreciation for the murderous work of the Foreign Legion; the Standard Oil Co., the Royal Dutch Shell, and many other American, British, German and Italian corporations.

Working from their special vantage points, after February, 1936, these fascist supporters, with their gangsters (pistoleros), their army officers, choice scoundrels of the Civil Guard, and lackeys of the big landlords, systematically set to their work of preparation and provocation for the events dyeing Spain red with blood today and threatening a new world holocaust.

Before giving some of the details of the fascist assaults, we want to refer to the pertinent remarks of Cesar Falcon, a Madrid writer, who on April 25, barely two months after the People's Front won its victory, said:

Communist Position

> "The Communist Party, through the medium of the press, at meetings, and in parliament, did not cease for one moment to urge the government, to compel it, to take those steps which the protection of the working class people, of the people's front, and even of the government's own regime demanded; it was perfectly evident from all the acts of provocation and violence that the ground was being prepared for a coup d'etat."

Early in April, the landlords in Seville, Cordoba, Jaen, now strong centers of fascism, began to boycott agreements with the farm laborers. In Parliament, the CEDA resisted and blocked passage of bills to help the land workers, or the distribution of land.

In the barracks, the fascist officers initiated a reign of terror. On April 16, Capt. Faraudo, an adherent of the People's Front, who exposed some of the terroristic deeds of the fascist officers, was shot down. A few days later, fascist officers ran through the streets shooting wildly at workers.

June Events

By June this year in Malaga, groups of Socialists and Communists had to defend themselves with weapons against the fascist pistoleros for three days. Fascists attempted to kill Communist and Socialist leaders. Andres Rodriguez, Communist member of the Malaga town council, was murdered. A conflict between Anarcho-Syndicalists of the C.N.T. (National Confederation of Labor) and Communists was taken advantage of by the fascists, who sought to force the fight into a bloody struggle. A few minutes before the murder of Comrade Rodriguez, pistoleros attacked and killed Roman Reina, Socialist chairman of the provincial parliament and secretary of the united U.G.T. union.

At a demonstration in Madrid, celebrating the anniversary of the Republic, fascist gangsters threw a bomb at the speakers' stand, nearly murdering several members of the Azana government. In the fighting that followed, the fascists killed several workers.

Robles in Parliament

In every part of Spain, the fascists were resorting to violence and murder. By July, the whole country was dotted with fascist attacks. In all leading cities, and in the countryside the fascist provocations were leading to a state of anarchy.

On a small scale, the fascist assault begun by Gen. Franco on July 15 was already on by early April.

Gil Robles had the audacity to rise in parliament and read off an indictment of "violence" against the Azana Government and the People's Front, less than one month before the fascists turned Spain into a battlefield.

Alarm Is Raised

Both the Communist and Socialist Parties raised the alarm. Exposing the double game of the reactionaries—violence and murder on the streets, and self-vindicating charges against the People's Front in parliament—Comrade Dolores Ibarruri (la Pasionaria), now distinguishing herself in the fight against fascism, just a few weeks before the fascist outbreak declared in the Cortes:

> "The reactionaries talked of 'disorders' provoked by the working masses. But the real crimes had been committed by the reactionaries themselves before and after the victory of the People's Front. And all these deeds perpetrated in Spain during the period so justly called the two black years, were carried out not only with the support of the coercive machinery of the state, but by recruiting among the dregs of capitalist society declassed men of the lumpen-proletariat who, for a reward and the assurance of impunity, assassinated workers who distinguished themselves in struggle.
>
> "Among the victims were Canales, Socialist; Joaquin de Grado, Juanita Rico, Manuel Andres and many others who fell through bullets of these gunmen led by Calvo Sotelo, by a young girl, whose mere name, when pronounced, rouses the hatred of the Spanish workers to such an extent it is a symbol of the shame and ruin of Spain, and by a band of young fools who are jealous of the victories and sanguinary laurels of Hitler and Mussolini."

La Pasionaria called on the Azana Government to lay a sterner hand on the fascist provocateurs and murderers.

There were signs then even that the petty bourgeoisie were throwing their lot with the proletariat, in the event of a bloody assault of fascism; that the hopes of the fascists that the Republicans would scatter or join the forces of reaction would be blasted.

Alvarez de Albornoz, on May 31, in a speech in the Cortes, aroused the middle-class supporters of the People's Front by his moving speech:

"The hour has come," he cried, "to go forward to a Republican aggression.

"The Cortes of the People's Front will be either the Cortes of the revolution, the great national rebellion, or it will be merely a gloomy chapter of the despairing history of our parliamentary decay."

Aid People's Front

Unable to shake the petty bourgeoisie and peasantry away from the People's Front by threatening speeches and piecemeal terror, the Fascists hoped to blast them to their side by civil war.

For a time, a small section of Republicans wavered about arming the workers. The Martinez Barrios cabinet could not hold together. Then the middle class formed the Giral cabinet, with the full-fledged support of Communists, Socialists and Syndicalists *for the sole aim of defeating fascism and preserving the democratic Republic.*

It was then that fascism felt the full brunt of a people fighting desperately and gloriously for liberty.

It was then the fascists began to scream "Help!" to their fascist allies in other countries.

Atrocity Lies

It was then the pro-fascist press of the world began to muddy the channels of information with atrocity lies and fables about a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Speculation about the date of the Socialist revolution in Spain we leave to those who would welcome the wreckage of the People's Front in Spain no matter whether fascism conquers or not.

The speediest road to socialism, to progress in any degree in Spain, lies over the dead body of Spanish fascism.

That can be achieved only by the firmest unity of the Spanish people, workers, peasants, middle class, intellectuals, the professionals, and the loyal men and officers of the army and navy.

The very promise of sweeping victory by the People's Front

enrages and spurs the Italian and German fascist butchers to intervention.

But against them, and on behalf of the heroic people of Spain fighting like demons to preserve what is dear to all humanity, are being aroused and wakened the liberty-loving people in all lands, the toilers, the peasants, the middle class, the intellectuals, regardless of political or religious belief.

There lies the shortest route to the emancipation of the toilers of all Spain, the beginning of the end for fascism in Germany and Italy, and the hope of preserving the peace of the world.

VICTORY FOR THE PEOPLE IS CERTAIN

By G. MARION

I.

ALTHOUGH at the moment of taking arms against the People's Front and the Republic fascism was able to muster very small forces other than the standing army, it would be fatal to regard the rising as a military adventure.

This was a bid for power by fascism itself which counts among its allies in Spain not only the big bourgeoisie, but all the elements integrated with the semi-feudal huge estate land system still prevailing. Among these must be included the landlords themselves, the "middlemen" who are the direct landlords of many provinces, the huge class of priests and retainers of the Church and religious orders, the agents, foremen, armed guards, collectors and other servants of the landlords; in their wake a whole school of public officials, bureaucrats, whose job and emoluments have always depended, not upon the government theoretically appointing them, but upon the landlords and caciques who in reality named them and directed their every step—these included the justices and police and this influence has extended deep into the various armed corps other than the army. In the army the entire high command and perhaps the majority of an overnumerous officers' corps were not merely reactionary but anti-Republican.

One Twenty-Fourth of People

These were the classes and groups providing (and to a great extent they still provide) the material resources and even the man-power of fascism. But numerically their absolute strength is still not great. Counting all the direct retainers of the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie, of the church

apparatus, and the creatures of the landlords, we would be safe in putting the figure at below one million, of Spain's twenty-four millions, from which the feudal-clerical-fascists gain their adherents. But this is a powerful army of recruiting agents, given a free hand among the backward, often illiterate rural population.

If recruiting has been poor, the fault lies not with the lack of money and energy spent on the task by the landlords, bourgeoisie, and clerics, but with the tremendous success scored by the People's Front and primarily by the Communist Party. The latter carried the main burden both of mobilizing mass pressure to reinforce the actions of the Left Republican government, and of preventing impatience with the amazing weakness of that government from turning into the split so eagerly sought by the reactionaries. The government was very progressive measured by the standards of perhaps any capitalist government on earth, but very feeble when its accomplishments are measured by its tasks.

First of its tasks should have been to cripple the counter-revolution before it could prepare just such a blood-bath as Spain wallows in today. For this is the second of the errors against which we must guard; that of regarding the coup as a bolt from the blue. The military aspect of the fascist stroke must not obscure the twin facts that it is an assault by all the tremendously powerful forces of reaction, and that *it was politically prepared in the open ever since February brought the People's Front to the fore.*

Labor Expected Gains

With the advent of a Left Republican government backed by the People's Front, it was obvious that the workers and peasants expected an improvement in their living conditions. They were under no illusions as to such improvements being handed them on a silver platter, but they did take for granted that the government would support them in their struggles.

For two years the Rightist regime had been actively taking away all the political-legal advantages they had procured "on

credit" from the April Republic. In the field and factory that had translated itself into hunger and "wages of misery". A drop in the agricultural wage average from eight pesetas to three and a half pesetas was typical. Some 200,000 families had been evicted from lands they had worked and improved—in some cases over generations. For industrial workers the physical terror of fascism overshadowed even economic repression so that amnesty for their political prisoners came first in their demands. But, with the first days of the new regime, it was natural that the workers should attempt to regain their old positions and recover lost ground.

The chief weapon in such a drive had, of course, to be the strike. But parliamentary action could be of great assistance. Correctly and quickly directed, it could in many cases have procured the reasonable demands of the workers without cessation of work. In others it could have terminated the strike to the advantage of the workers in very brief periods.

Against these two weapons the reactionaries employed one tremendous bludgeon: sabotage and obstruction. In Parliament they took advantage of the legalistic illusions of the Republicans to hamper legislation by what may be regarded as a perpetual filibuster.

They presented "interpellations" on the question of "public order". These were not merely parliamentary points of order, but whole debates which took up weeks of time that should have been devoted to urgent reform legislation. The Republicans were annoyed and replied to the Rightist attacks with vigorous denunciations and threats which were never carried out.

Fascists Incited Followers

But time was passing, and the Rightists were using the forum of the Cortes to incite their followers, day after day, to merge in one fascist mobilization to destroy the People's Front. In vain Pasionaria thundered a demand that Gil Robles and Calvo Sotelo be jailed. They continued to shout provocation from their benches in the Parliament. They read lists of "vic-

tims" who had perished since the People's Front victory, from which they omitted all the nationally known victims of the fascists! They incited employers to resist the government decrees.

The employers, in turn, carried out the campaign of obstruction and sabotage to the full. They incited strikes by refusing, at first, even to negotiate. They prolonged the strikes by every imaginable provocation. Having accepted a Labor Board verdict, they would fail to carry out the agreement and the workers would be compelled to return to the picket line. In one great strike, agreement having been reached, the workers returned to work on Monday only to find the doors of the factories closed without explanation. Where workers did not go on strike employers withheld pay to force them to strike.

Pistolerismo was employed to the utmost. Already in March and April there were fascist attacks on prominent Republicans and Marxists. Justice Pedregal was murdered for imposing just sentences on fascists. Labor Defender Eduardo Ortega y Gasset's home was bombed, as was that of Largo Caballero. Captain Faraud, retired officer drilling workers' militia, was murdered. An attempt on the life of the Socialist Jimenez de Asua resulted in the death of a policeman guarding him. But as the resistance of the workers and peasants to the campaign of provocation increased the use of force was diverted to an even more dangerous channel.

Gangsters Sent Into Unions

Gangsters, well known criminals, frequently cited by name in the pages of *Mundo Obrero*, were introduced into the ranks of workers' organizations, particularly those of the Syndicalists, from which position they could hope to set the workers at one another's throats, "amid roars of glee from the capitalists", as *Mundo Obrero* put it. Murders of that kind took place in Malaga, and the situation was reflected for a moment in a grave tenseness between Syndicalist and Communist workers. On trains coming from Seville, Syndicalist railway-

men began chalking: "Death to Lenin; Down with the People's Front".

In every crisis it was the Communist Party that kept its eye on the ball and succeeded in convincing the parties and the masses of the main issue. "Of course, we believe in striking," the Party explained to the Syndicalists. "A peseta more or an hour less is of great consequence to us. But to waste great energies in a struggle for a peseta more or an hour less when, in a very few days, we shall have something of infinitely greater consequence to struggle for . . . is folly."

The masses grew more and more impatient. *Mundo Obrero* spoke in sharp terms to the government. There was a tremendous tension. The cost of living had gone up 20 per cent; the workers had made great gains but they could not collect them; two hundred cars of potatoes were left by speculators in the M.Z.A. station to rot while the price zoomed on the hungry Madrid market. The reactionaries might yet score a victory: they might force the people to rebel, thus enabling the Army to crush them in the name of constituted authority.

Must Settle with Fascism

Clear as daylight was the issue: economic and partial reforms were good enough, but nothing could be obtained without settling with the strongest hand, the threat of fascism. The reactionaries must be removed by police from illegally occupied positions in municipal and provincial affairs; employers and landlords who defied government decrees must be jailed; Army officers who had sent the government an ultimatum as early as March must be publicly tried. More than that, the feudal-military-clerical-fascist class must be tried as a whole through their top leaders, Gil Robles, Lerroux, the whole Cabinet of October, 1934, the generals of the repression, Doval the sadist, etc. At this moment the gunmen agents of the counter-revolution killed Lieut. Castillo, of the anti-fascist club in the Assault Guards.

The Communist Party called a hasty meeting of the People's Front. Representatives of all the People's Front parties

pledged to support a Communist resolution and bill. The resolution pledged the Cortes to remain in session until the trial of the counter-revolutionary leaders had taken place; the bill provided for the trial. The fascists signaled in panic to all their forces to get ready.

Opportunely, Jose Calvo Sotelo, Finance Minister under the Rivera terror and chief of the avowed Monarchists, was killed.

The fascists sought to utilize this pretext to prove that government terror existed and, at this moment, another reason for hastening their action presented itself: The Quiroga Government, apparently unable to meet the demands for a militant government, but unwilling to hinder the People's Front, was about to give way to a government of action.

Communists Warned of Coup

That was what decided the moment—an unpropitious one—for the fascist coup, and that moment was known in advance. On Tuesday, July 14, the Communist daily reported that, on its initiative, the People's Front had voluntarily pledged the government its fullest support in every way against the impending coup.

To the growth of unity among the workers, to the extending influence of the Communist Party as indicated by its amazing growth, to the spread of the People's Front to the farms and villages must be attributed the fact that in the final trial the People's Front was able to muster the support of millions against the creatures of fascism. But most of all, the successful defense of the Republic is a tribute to the infinite patience of the Communist Party of Spain through trying and difficult months of sentinel duty against reaction in ambush.

II.

WITH their announcement that twenty-eight of fifty Spanish provinces were in the hands of the counter-revolution, the news factories climaxed a remarkable campaign

of distortion. True, they polished up that job with the standard "objectivity" luster by having the government "officially admit" the "fact". Neverthless, to describe the status of the uprising in Spain in such terms is to build up a case for the fascists out of thin air.

Who are these fascists who "held" more than half of Spain? In the first place, even the Hearst press would probably admit by this time that the reactionary forces are almost wholly confined to the army. If, for the moment, we pass over the deeper content of the counter-revolution and the minor, but interesting, civilian participants, we shall be able more quickly to get at the real heart of the question: the quality of the fascist "hold" on more than half of Spain.

For it is nonsense and poisonous propaganda to describe a military rising in terms of an invasion. An invading army occupies positions not just wherever a sudden opportunity offers, but where lines of communication can be established for the defense of the captured post, assuring consolidation of an improved position.

Fascists Fail in Political Objectives

The army chiefs of the fascist enterprise in Spain had no such problem. What good were lines of communication when there were no sources of supplies and no reserves? Their one hope was to seize *all* the garrisons of the peninsula and from this vantage point so quickly take over the machinery of government that sheer inertia would have kept the economic state functioning. This was a political-military maneuver. From a military point of view it became a failure if it failed in its political objectives.

But in reality it failed even in a physical sense for Madrid, Barcelona and Bilbao never fell into fascist hands. The nation's capitals, the capital of Spain, of Catalonia, of Euzkadi; the nerve center, the two greatest ports, the only two important industrial centers successfully resisted the surprise attack. The government held the assets; the army had captured the liabilities. The army held numerous garrisons amid

hostile populations, against civilian armies whose reserves are the whole population of Spain, and without any possibility of operating the factories that can alone supply the reserve materials needed to "starve" Madrid into submission.

Will Collapse From Within

When we remember that, for the most part, the rank-and-file troops were deceived by their officers, we at last see what the fascist "hold" on twenty-eight of Spain's fifty provinces resolves itself down to. The officers hold garrisons which give them the negative power of cutting communications, interrupting government mobilization of materials, and conducting propaganda campaigns via radio, in a wide but economically and militantly unimportant area. Against them, surrounding them, are the Civil Guards, the Assault Guards, the air force, the navy, the artillery (for the most part), armored car units and the entire nation. They can hold their positions, at best, as long as their original supplies hold out.

Under these conditions the counter-revolution will inevitably collapse from within. "Give me one good loyal regiment," they always say at the moment of defeat, "and I'll mop up that revolutionary rabble." But there are no "loyal and dependable" regiments. There may be little patches of fascist desperation entrenched in the backwashes of Navarre for weeks to come, but the decisive issues must be settled in a few centers and we may expect with all confidence after more smashing blows by the People's Front *increasing signs of the disintegration of the counter-revolution.*

Plot Revolt in North

With these background facts in mind, we can examine more dispassionately what took place when the counter-revolution at last resorted to arms in Spain. From the military side it had been planned, according to the admission of Col. Villanueva, to stage the coup on July 26, beginning with a revolt in northern Spain.

With government forces drawn north, the main strength

of the rebels, suddenly turned loose from the Canary and Balearic Islands and Morocco against southern Spain, could have occupied Andalusia at leisure and set a southern army on the road to Madrid.

The generals hoped for a quick transfer of power, but at the very best they could only have precipitated a civil war, that is, a war between different sections of the population rather than the present war of the people against sections of the army. There could not under any circumstances have been an easy transfer of power, for the workers had long prepared for the coup and had politically prepared the peasantry during months of patience with a government that did not measure up to its tasks. Capture of all the garrisons of Spain by the generals would only have launched a nationwide guerrilla warfare such as the counter-revolution proved powerless to end even in the single province of Asturias in 1935.

Plans Go Wrong

At the very beginning, however, the generals' plans went wrong. Undoubtedly political factors played a great part in forcing the hand of the Moroccan conspirators before the appointed time. But it is not impossible that General Francisco Franco was rather willing to strike first in order to prevent the glory and the gains from centering on Gen. Emilio Mola.

Since the counter-revolution had practically no mass base, no civilian forces at its disposal, the objectives of the attack were predetermined. Spain is divided for military purposes into eight divisions of which the area headquarters are: La Coruna, Burgos, Valladolid, Zaragoza, Madrid, Seville, Valencia and Barcelona.

The fascists failed at Barcelona and Madrid. In the other areas they were in command of the garrisons and kept them. But all around them, in the working class quarters of the cities they hold, are a thousand little forts. Every building is an enemy camp. As they ride along gaily in their "own" territory they are suddenly ambushed. While they wait for

Madrid to "starve", workers' and peasants' columns form and attack.

Against the hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants arrayed against them what forces do they command? There are, first, some 35,000 effectives in Morocco including Foreign Legion (Tercios) and 8,500 native troops. Among these the reactionary officers were given every opportunity to recruit by the feeble government policy of transferring fascists to the colonies instead of jailing them. This applies with double force to the islands: in the Canaries former Rightist Chief of Staff Gen. Francisco Franco was in full command; in the Baleares, hated Gen. Goded, who flew to Barcelona for the attack on the Catalan capital.

But even had the whole overseas army actually come with the rebels, they would have had only 55,000 men to which might be added 10,000 overseas police. These men were not, of course, available for Peninsular service without stripping the Moroccan and island garrisons. Every man sent to Spain weakened the rebellion's basic position in Morocco by that much. The chief value of the strong position in the colonial army was, therefore, as a base and a retreat.

On the Peninsula cajolery and skulduggery were employed to bring the troops over through inertia. A soldier who ran the gauntlet to escape from the La Montana barracks in Madrid told how uneasy the rank-and-file troops in the barracks were and how Gen. Fanjul exhorted them to save Spain from Soviet Russia.

Civil Forces

The civilian forces consist largely of the jobholders, agents, and hangers-on of the landlords; the local caciques and sluggers whose privileges depend upon retention of the huge estates on which rests the semi-feudalism of modern Spain. Secondly, there are the brutalized and superstition-ridden agents of the clergy, chiefly small peasants in a limited number of provinces in the north. In Navarre there are even Catholic Storm Troops, the Requetes.

As these groups loll about in the sun beyond the Sierra waiting for Madrid to "starve", they are still an army. But what will keep their morale up against hunger, suffering, defeat? The soldiers who were given liquor before their fascist officers exhorted them to save Spain, will sober up soon enough.

In the People's Front the morale cannot weaken. For them the defense of the government and People's Front against the fascists represents the defense of the concrete gains they have made since February, and, even more, the assurance of the greater gains that must come with the final completion of the democratic revolution in Spain.

III.

THE Hearst press has smeared with "Red terror" all the measures of defense adopted by the People's Front in Spain. Amid vague insinuations of "godless demons" and Socialist and Communist atheists, there are specific charges of "burning and looting".

Ninety per cent of all Barcelona's churches and convents, according to the *New York American*, have been "set afire and reduced to ashes by mobs which destroyed sacred objects of great value".

From the *New York Times*' Barcelona correspondent came an "on the spot" story directly contradicting the office fabrications of the Hearst creatures.

> "Order is being maintained everywhere and rumors of looting are unfounded. Scarcely a shot has been heard in Barcelona for several days and today the city is tranquil."

Carney's Times Despatch

William Carney, ardent Catholic Madrid correspondent for the same *New York Times*, is even more specific:

> "Delegates from the Socialist General Workers Union are giving valuable service to the government by confiscating convents and religious schools, which with churches have become State property. Most of these buildings contain valuable paintings, tapestries and other art treasures which are being carefully listed in complete inventories being made by proletarian militiamen to avoid thefts or vandalism. In some cases money is found on the premises, and the government has received a careful accounting for every cent.
>
> "The keys of all churches have been turned over to the government to prevent use of the buildings by fascists for sniping or as places of refuge so religious services have been temporarily suspended. There were no masses in Madrid yesterday."

These items derive their value from the obvious reluctance with which they are admitted. "I must acknowledge," naively writes a *Christian Science Monitor* contributor, "that the behavior of the Communists was very decent and tactful. They did not molest anyone, not even occasional priests and nuns whom I saw in the streets."

Hearst Admissions

Once we have disposed of the vague atmosphere of horror created by the violently fascist Hearst, we can find, even in his own papers, the simple and scanty facts available.

> *"During the five days beginning today authorities throughout Spain will seize all religious educational institutions still in the hands of the clergy.*
>
> *"This is being done to satisfy the people's desire that the clergy be forbidden to teach."*

Here is plainly revealed one major aspect of the government program so crudely described by Hearst as "anti-religious". The Church and particularly the Jesuit order have long had a virtual monopoly on education in Spain. Their facilities did not extend to the great masses, as a result of which more than half of Spain is illiterate.

Control Education

At the same time they were able, in conjunction with their feudal allies, the landlords, caciques, Catholic Action, to prevent secular competition almost entirely. The religious schools carefully prepared all the youth of Spain destined to govern, to teach, to hold civil service posts of any description.

They maintained, in this way, an ideological monopoly in the highest quarters, challenged only by the small but select Instituto Libre de Ensenanza. Many, many times in Spanish history this church monopoly of education has been challanged, but failure to shake the political power of the semi-feudalists made all gains temporary.

The April Republic made definite provision, legally, for replacing the religious schools by secular ones. A great howl went up from the churchmen, the wealthy bishops, the millionaire "sympathizers" of the powerful Church. "What have you to complain about?" inquired the anti-clericals. "If the wealthy wish parochial schools, good; let them pay for them. All we ask is secular schools for ourselves and that the people not be taxed to pay for the religious education of those who desire it." But this was the very crux of the matter. All the fancy phrases about "spirituality" barely covered the selfish material motives behind the defense of state religious instruction. It was simply a juicy plum that fed thousands of idle clerics.

The Jesuit Tactics

The Jesuits hastened to list all the schools and investments devoted exclusively to the working class. Indeed, they had consistently with their chief function of diverting the energies of the masses from the struggle to improve their lot on earth, established centers wherever they could get a foothold among the workers. They were a corollary of the Sindicatos Libres, the Catholic Trade Unions, which have lately been filled with outside gunmen who played an active role in the pre-coup campaign of sabotage and obstruction by the Employers' Association.

It was imperative that the clerical monopoly on education be broken because it was purely and simply a part of the machinery by which the most reactionary elements in Spain maintained their oppressive rule over the masses of workers and peasants.

In the debate over secular education in the Constituent Con-

vention, Socialist Jiminez de Asua exploded the myth of the non-political church.

> "What is the Catholic Federation of Students?" he asked. "What other purpose than political can a Federation of Catholic Students have in a country where all students and the whole population is officially and legally still Catholic?"

The April Republic established laws permitting the breaking of this political stranglehold of the reaction on all education, but it permitted the reactionaries to sabotage their program and to let it go by default. Therefore, today, with the back of reaction broken, the People's Front is compelled to make effective the demand of the masses for free secular education and to suspend all state aid to religious schools. A people composed of professing Catholics has driven the church out of the schools!

Clerical monopoly of education was but the spiritual reflection of the topheavy place of the church and the religious orders in the wealth of the nation.

An eminent French authority on Spain, Angel Marvaud, declares:

> "One can without exaggeration estimate at a third of the national wealth all the goods, real and personal, owned by the congregations. The Northern Railways, the Transatlantic Company, the orange groves of Andalusia, the mines of the Basque Provinces and of the Riff, several factories in Barcelona, are beneath their open or concealed direction."

He might have added the Banco Urquijo of Madrid with 126,000,000 peseta share capital and four provincial banks with 85 millions as well as the Madrid street railways.

Wealth of Church

A curious volume of the 18th century sheds light on the "spirituality" of the church and clergy that made both so hated by a Catholic population.

> "From a table before us," declares the author, "we see that in 1768, for a population of 9,000,000 there were 143,000 priests, 65,000 monks and 34,000 nuns [total 242,000] . . . who possessed

32,500,000,000 reales in real property which produced an annual income of approximately 500,000,000 and adding 82 more from horses, cattle, and houses, totaled 582,000,000, and adding masses, sermons, rosaries, and tithes, it may be calculated at 1,600,000,000; giving for each individual of the Church an income of 8,000 reales, an exorbitant figure according to the value of money then, giving as a sad but natural consequence 176,000 beggars, that is, one for each sixty-one inhabitants."

At various stages of the struggle which has gone on for centuries between secular and religious institutions for control of the resources and wealth of the nation, there have been political clashes between the two. Particularly in the past 150 years the developing bourgeoisie has attempted, along with the conversion of feudal estates into bourgeois property, to force the distribution of the church lands and to compel the religious institutions either to get out of various businesses or pay the same taxes as are paid by private promoters.

Feudal Land System

Whether or not the bourgeoisie of Spain was ever "the" progressive class, this struggle found it in the role of the class fighting for the economic development and progress of the nation in general. The wealth of the church, or rather its income, depended not upon increased scientific exploitation of the nation's resources and particularly of the land, but upon maintenance of the oppressive feudal system which leaves more than half of Spain uncultivated while peasants starve.

The very beginning of the solution of the peasant problem in Spain is the expropriation of the huge land holdings of the Chuch. The Church has been one with the nobles and great landowners in preventing irrigation, modern crop culture, reforestation, and in general increasing of the agricultural wealth of the nation, through stubborn maintenance of a system of exploitation in which an army of non-producers rented the land to toilers under conditions that kept the latter in permanent starvation and effectively prevented improvement.

Expropriation of the Church and religious orders in Spain is a social and economic necessity concurred in by great masses still professing the Catholic faith. These millions believe that the Church will be stronger for retreating to its own domain out of politics and business. And, on the other hand, the anti-clericals themselves demand no more than this.

Even the foul slanderer Hearst's most lurid concoctions about Spain admit, at bottom, that there is no interference with freedom of religious belief and worship. Karl von Wiegand's dispatch upon which the *American* bases its statement that "religious freedom" has virtually ended, says: "It is understood that places of worship will be permitted to continue functioning under the new decree."

THE UNITED STATES MUST NOT AID THE FASCIST MUTINEERS AGAINST DEMOCRATIC, FRIENDLY SPAIN*

FOR THE United States government, the attitude in regard to Spain should be clear.

The Spanish government is the legitimate government of Spain, elected by the people of that country. It is a democratic government, dedicated to the preservation of those civil rights to which the United States is committed. It is a government friendly to the United States.

With fascist mutiny facing such a government, the United States cannot participate in hostile acts against it which give aid to the fascist mutineers. To put to the American people the question: "Shall the United States seek to undermine a legitimate, democratic, friendly government?" leads directly to the strong answer: "No!"

The policy of so-called "neutrality" of the Roosevelt administration, which tends to aid the aggressor in international conflicts, does not apply here. This is not the case of a war between two different nations. It is the case of a fascist mutiny against that government which is seeking to preserve the democracy of the Spanish people. The American people cannot allow the United States to aid and abet in any way those fascist forces which are seeking to destroy this democratic Spanish Republic.

With this attack facing a legitimate, democratic friendly government, President Roosevelt is duty bound to prevent the munition manufacturers and the bankers from giving any help to the fascist mutineers aiming at the smashing of the Spanish democracy.

* * *

* Editorial reprinted from the August 14, 1936, issue of the *Daily Worker*, organ of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.

Unfriendly acts by the United States against the Spanish Republic, moreover, would lead to an alienation of the friendship of the Spanish-American peoples. There are thousands of intellectuals, workers and members of other sections of the Latin-American population who are watching with deep interest the struggle in Spain. They wish to see the triumph of democracy in that country to which they are linked by ties of language, culture and blood.

Should the United States harass the Spanish Republic or be guilty of hositile acts against it, such moves would arouse the indignation of these Latin-American peoples and would tend to range them against the United States. American business men can understand this harmful development in terms of business. But there is something more important than that involved in this situation: the problem of friendly relations of the Latin-American peoples with the United States. President Roosevelt has claimed to recognize the necessity for such friendly relations by taking the initiative in calling the Pan-American Peace Congress in December. The work of that congress will certainly not be helped by any hostile move against the Spanish Republic by the United States.

Big as these issues are, there is still a bigger problem involved in the attitude of the United States toward the Spanish democracy. That is: The Peace of the World.

Mussolini and Hitler, foes of democracy and peace, are openly furnishing the Spanish fascists with arms, ammunition and airplanes. Mussolini is now accused of a secret pact with the Spanish fascist mutineers. German Nazi and Italian fascist army airmen have openly joined the ranks of the Spanish rebels, planning to bomb Madrid with the planes given to the fascists by the Nazi and fascist governments. Their aim in engaging in such plots against the Spanish Republic is clear. They plan to grab larger and larger footholds in the Mediterranean and in Africa. Mussolini has his eyes on the Balearic Islands, for a new naval base in the Mediterranean; Hitler wants to seize Spanish Morocco. There

can be one outcome to such a program and one alone—*war.*

Such a conflict would quickly involve other nations. It would become a war in which the entire world will be precipitated. And there can be no intelligent person today who would state that, in such a conflict, the United States could escape embroilment in such a catastrophe.

* * *

William Randolph Hearst, America's Fascist No. 1, is trying desperately to bring about such a world conflict. He is openly siding with the Spanish fascists, and has brazenly joined hands in support of Mussolini and of Hitler, who is also the ally of Japan. He who has talked so loudly of so-called "neutrality", attacks the policy of the French government, in its effort to preserve peace—a policy which is based on neutrality and non-intervention.

The French government wishes to prevent any foreign aid to the fascist war-mongers and mutineers. The French people want more than that. They want support of the Spanish democracy. The Blum government has been a model of patience until now, in order not to give Hitler a pretext for open warfare. Under the provocative acts of the fascist war-mongers, and under pressure from the French people, that government has given warning that intervention must cease by August 17, or the French Republic will permit aid to the Spanish democracy.

William Randolph Hearst has not attacked those countries, Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy, which are openly intervening in Spain to help the destruction of democracy. At the present moment, he is on the high seas—en route on the fascist liner Rex—to connive with Hitler and Mussolini in their plots against the Spanish democracy and against world peace. At the same time, he opens the columns of his press to an assault upon the French government, which is seeking to preserve peace.

The American people certainly hope that Franklin D. Roose-

velt will not be terrorized by these loud shouts of Hearst against the Spanish Republic. They look to the White House to take a stand for peace—by not being stampeded into any act of any sort that could be interpreted as assistance to the fascist mutineers and war-makers.

* * *

Statements that have been made by American diplomatic representatives are disquieting, to put it mildly. The official statement made on Tuesday by Acting Secretary of State William Phillips contains no recognition of the fact that a democratic, legitimate government exists in Spain. Referring to "the disturbances in Spain" that statement speaks of "a completely impartial attitude"—as though there were no distinction between mutineers and the regularly constituted government, based on the elections of the people. Such is not an impartial attitude; it is not the sort of statement that should be expected from a representative of the United States toward a friendly government.

George F. Wendelin, in charge of the American embassy at Madrid, persists in sending out scare stories about the bombing of Madrid, which reflect on the stability of the Spanish Republic.

Does Roosevelt support the implications of such statements? Does he not appreciate the direction in which they are tending?

The fact is, that the Spanish people are winning their heroic struggle against the fascists. The government controls the bulk of Spain. Even with the aid given the fascist mutineers, by Hitler and Mussolini, up to now the people's forces have driven back these fascists until they can operate in only nine provinces of Spain. Those rebels who escaped from Toledo gave a graphic picture of the demoralization in the fascist ranks in their interview with the United Press correspondent on August 13. They reported that soldiers are being compelled to remain in the fascist ranks at the point of the officers' revolvers.

For the United States government, there is therefore a clear

road to follow, as a matter of duty, in the Spanish situation. The government must not give or permit aid in any form—arms, munition, airplanes, money or commodities—to the Spanish fascists. The Roosevelt administration must place the full weight of this country's influence in opposition to the German Nazi and Italian fascist intervention in Spain. The Roosevelt administration must throw the weight of its influence in support of those countries that seek to maintain world peace and to curb the fascist aggressors.

* * *

For the American people, there is a duty in this crisis to bring pressure on the government, to see that such a peace policy is carried out. There must be raised a strong and clear demand that no help be given or permitted by the government to the enemies of Spanish democracy. Particularly can the trade unions—through resolutions to the government, through telegrams of solidarity with the Spanish people, through financial aid to the Spanish Labor Red Cross fund—contribute to the preservation of democracy in Spain.

The International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, through President David Dubinsky, has pledged itself to raise $100,000 for the Spanish democratic forces in the Spanish Labor Red Cross fund. The big and representative unions should act rapidly, joining the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the I.L.G.W.U., the Furriers' Joint Council and the other organizations which have voted money to this fund.

The American trade unions cannot allow the call of Francisco Largo Caballero, Socialist leader, to go unheeded—that call urging all American workers "irrespective of party lines, to unite in defense of the Spanish people in their struggle against fascism."

"Fascist insurgents reckoned on taking the country unawares," declared Jose Diaz, Communist leader, in his broadcast on August 11 in Madrid, "but the people took the offensive and will clean these traitors out of Spain."

"In our country," he continued, "a heroic struggle is taking

place between democracy and fascism, between hatred and slavery, between the forces of peace and the forces of war."

In such a struggle the American trade unions can do much for the victory of the forces in Spain that stand for democracy, freedom and peace.

The American people are called upon to broadcast to the world that they take their side against the fascist oppressors, against the Spanish fascists, against Hitler, Mussolini and Hearst. They can speak out loudly for the Spanish dmocracy. *Great protest demonstrations before the German Nazi and Italian fascist consulates will announce to the world that the American masses are for democracy and for peace. Through such demonstrations will the people give the clearest and best answer to the war-mongering policies of William Randolph Hearst. In these giant mass protests the voice of the American people will speak out, clearly and strongly—for democracy in Spain and for peace throughout the world.*

Against the Hitler and Mussolini intervention in Spain!

Demand the immediate stoppage of any help to the fascist insurgents, the murderers of the Spanish people!

Let the American government place its full influence against Hitler's and Mussolini's intervention in Spain!

For united action by labor and all other progressive forces in support of Spanish democracy!

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